1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khunjirs (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowanduz. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowanduz police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

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The police are assigned in small numbers to the nudirs, while a larger unit is kept in Rowanduz at the

The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow 579
with the closed fist is unknown in Rowandus, and one
strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Stiaks or [411]
khunjirs are the next favored weapons in such an exchange,
and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch
like a woman. As in other Islamic communities, quarrels,
sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the
fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed
between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had [682]
been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three
years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. [674]
The last of them, Nuri Bawil Agha, who dabbled in brigandage,
smuggling, and blackmail, now suffers life imprisonment for [682]
the murder of Isma'il Beg. Nuri is said to have often
arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to
have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, in Rowandus 622
is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive
everyday definition. It is not elective, and a mukhtar
is selected by the government with the more or less tacit
consent of his fellows. His work, such as it is, con-
sists in acting in liaison between the people and the
rais baladiya (at present, the qaimmaqam) and, to a certain
extent, being a guarantee for their good conduct. He is
without police authority, but acts to mitigate minor
quarrels between townspeople, and, with the force of
public opinion, as some power to command. He stands be-
tween the people and the government, presenting the

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its serai was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were vicious. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

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In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

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army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi (from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an official or an officer has entered a higher class of society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing, say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing as far as the government service and the governed are concerned.

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Most of the men of the district are armed and appear frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

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is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The khunjir is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (tezbih, from Arabic subha) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a darwish. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

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of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 788 293
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, sometimes attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together with the type of holster and the position in which it is worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers. British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are avoided because their possession is not easily explained to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, except by almost impossible government formalities, is

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forbidden in the Rowanduz area and an investigation of their sources might prove embarrassing to the government itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms is open to some question, in view of the high price of illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were witnessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to shoot) which gave evidence of capability.

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it is important to remember that three different categories must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials, Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler stations, although the difference in dress between the latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes, the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, although in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear. Over the drawers full trousers of dark-coloured cloth, drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in the attire of village women. To build up the outer garment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long,

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowanduz the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some single slippers, and the kabkab. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

people and supervising the entertainment. A party of men 585
is assembled at the home of the bridegroom, and the bride- [497]
groom himself is seated on a horse. This group, leading the
animal, makes its way through the town, accompanied by
shouting, music, and the noise of rifles fired in the air.
Arriving at the house of the maiden, the bridegroom dis-
mounts and is led inside with his followers to be offered
food and drink. A second group, made up of the bride and
her female relatives and friends, is formed, and the bride
also mounts an extravagantly caparisoned horse. A more
striking procession now begins, headed by the bridegroom
and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives
and friends, and the rear is brought up by donkeys and
porters carrying the new household goods, clothing, and
other treasures in brightly painted chests. The Kurds
take great delight in discharging firearms on such
occasions, and permission for this must be obtained from
the government. When the bride of a chieftain was taken
by automobile to Astor from Rawanduz, several thousand
rounds were fired in the air along the route. The bride- [411]
groom arrives at his parental home before the bride, and [456]
takes up a station on the roof or balcony, furnished with
a tray filled with grain, coins, and candy. When the bride
is led up on her horse, he showers the contents of this
tray over her and her women. As she dismounts, a sheep
is slaughtered before the door of the house and her shoe
is dipped in its blood before she can enter.

The consummation of the marriage is usually deferred

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Ehr Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short pules. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and farrish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa carried before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mills, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "was to heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

000 of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

291 As the sun peeped over the rugged
• 411 mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

438 I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

515 A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "*Hotta!*" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

000 The night has ended. Sulaimaniya is awake.

[text continued on p. 383(B)]

[p. 382(A)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

J. C. A. Johnson

Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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[P 3109 (W)]